

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 PARIS 02898 01 OF 02 291928Z

44

ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-11 ISO-00 ERDA-05 AF-06 ARA-06

CIAE-00 DODE-00 EA-07 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NASA-01

NEA-10 NSAE-00 NSC-05 OIC-02 SP-02 PA-01 PRS-01

OES-03 SS-15 USIA-06 SAJ-01 NRC-05 /126 W

----- 090308

R 291912Z JAN 76

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7354

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION USUN

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 PARIS 02898

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PARM, CCD, FR

SUBJECT: FRENCH POLICY ON CCD

REF: (A) STATE 020924; (B) USUN 6511 (1975); (C) PARIS
10768 (1975); (D) PARIS 30654 (1975)

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 PARIS 02898 01 OF 02 291928Z

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: FRENCH CONTINUE TO FIND INSTITUTIONAL AND SUBSTANTIVE REASONS FOR REMAINING OUTSIDE CCD. IF US/USSR CO-CHAIRMEN ARE INTERESTED IN REFORMING CCD TO MEET THESE FRENCH OBJECTIONS, WE BELIEVE FRENCH ARE WILLING TO DISCUSS ALL ISSUES SERIOUSLY AND CONFIDENTIALLY. END SUMMARY

2. PRIOR TO RECEIPT OF REF A, WE HAD OPPORTUNITY FOR DETAILED DISCUSSION WITH MISTRAL (QUAI ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT EXPERT) CONCERNING FRENCH POLICY ON CCD. MISTRAL RECALLED THAT HE HAD SPOKEN WITH BLACK AND OTHERS IN NEW YORK CONCERNING THIS SUBJECT (REF B) AND THAT HE WAS PREPARED TO EXPLAIN IN SOMEWHAT GREATER DETAIL CURRENT STATE OF FRENCH POLICY CONCERNING CCD, A POLICY THAT HAS NOT CHANGED AT ALL UNDER GISCARD. HE NOTED THAT FRANCE CONTINUES TO SEE NO GOOD REASON TO REJOIN THE CCD AS IT IS CURRENTLY ORGANIZED AND IN LIGHT OF THE SUBSTANCE THAT OCCUPIES CCD ATTENTION. MOREOVER, FRANCE DOES NOT FIND ITS ABSENCE BOTHERSOME. IF OTHERS ARE INTERESTED IN ATTRACTING FRANCE INTO CCD, SOME ATTENTION SHOULD BE GIVEN TO SEVERAL INSTITUTIONAL AND SUBSTANTIVE CHANGES (DESCRIBED BELOW).

3. CO-CHAIRMANSHIP: MISTRAL SAID THAT FRENCH CONTINUE TO PERCEIVE US/USSR CO-CHAIRMANSHIP OF CCD AS SYMBOL OF PRIVILEGED SUPER-POWER ENTENTE AND DOMINATION, WHICH OF COURSE IS UNACCEPTABLE TO FRANCE. FURTHERMORE, HE CONTINUED, IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT FOR FRENCH GOVERNMENT TO TURN THE CLOCK BACK ON GAULLIST HISTORY AND TRADITION BY ACCEPTING NOW PRINCIPLE OF CO-CHAIRMANSHIP AFTER GENERAL DE GAULLE HAD PROCLAIMED REPEATEDLY FRANCE'S POLITICAL OBJECTIONS TO THAT INSTITUTION. SURELY, SAID MISTRAL, ANY ATTEMPT TO REVERSE THAT HERITAGE OF DE GAULLE WOULD CREATE MAJOR DIFFICULTIES FOR GISCARD WITH HIS UDR PARTNERS IN THE GOF. (COMMENT: THIS IS HARDER LINE ON GAULLIST ANGLE THAN MISTRAL TOOK WITH US EARLIER, AS REPORTED IN REF C.) MISTRAL CONCLUDED THAT FRANCE WOULD FIND MUCH MORE ACCEPTABLE IDEA OF CHAIRMANSHIP ROTATING AMONG CCD MEMBERS.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 PARIS 02898 01 OF 02 291928Z

4. MEMBERSHIP - SIZE: MISTRAL SAID THAT CCD HAD BECOME MUCH TOO LARGE TO FUNCTION WITH ANY HOPE OF MEANINGFUL SUCCESS. FRENCH DO NOT OBJECT TO IDEA OF TROIKA (I.E., EQUAL REPRESENTATION FOR EAST, WEST, AND THIRD WORLD). BUT BY CONSTANTLY EXPANDING ITS SIZE, CCD HAS BECOME BODY THAT IS SIMPLY TOO UNWIELDY TO BE SUCCESSFUL FORUM FOR NEGOTIATING THE IMPORTANT ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT BUSINESS THAT CONFRONTS WORLD TODAY.

5. MEMBERSHIP - COMPOSITION: MOREOVER, CONTINUED
MISTRAL, PRACTICALLY ALL COMMUNIST GOVERNMENTS IN
WORLD ARE NOW MEMBERS OF CCD. CONSEQUENTLY, NATIONS NOT
REALLY HAVING INDEPENDENT DISARMAMENT DOCTRINE BUT
FOLLOWING LEAD OF MOSCOW ON PRACTICALLY ALL DISARMAMENT
SUBJECTS ARE PERMITTED TO PLAY ROLE WITHIN CCD HAVING
LITTLE RELATIONSHIP TO THEIR INTRINSIC POLITICAL POWER
OR THEIR REAL INTEREST IN DISARMAMENT AFFAIRS.

6. SUBSTANCE OF CCD: FINALLY, MISTRAL NOTED THAT THE
PRIORITY SUBSTANCE OF ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 PARIS 02898 02 OF 02 291927Z

44

ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-11 ISO-00 ERDA-05 AF-06 ARA-06

CIAE-00 DODE-00 EA-07 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NASA-01

NEA-10 NSAE-00 NSC-05 OIC-02 SP-02 PA-01 PRS-01

OES-03 SS-15 USIA-06 SAJ-01 NRC-05 /126 W

----- 090304

R 291912Z JAN 76

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7355

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

USMISSION NATO
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
USMISSION USUN
USMISSION EC BRUSSELS
USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 PARIS 02898

AFFAIRS IS NOT TREATED BY THE CCD BUT IS HANDLED IN
OTHER FORUMS. THIS NECESSARILY DILUTES IMPORTANCE OF
CCD AND SERIOUSNESS WITH WHICH OTHER COUNTRIES, INCLUD-
ING FRANCE, APPROACH IT AS IMPORTANT FORUM. REGRETTABLY,
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 PARIS 02898 02 OF 02 291927Z

HE ADDED, MANY COUNTRIES WHO HAVE NO REAL REASON TO
PARTICIPATE IN CCD ARE NONETHELESS THERE AND USE THIS
FORUM AS A VEHICLE FOR PURSUING THEIR OWN PECULIAR
IDIOSYNCRACIES. AS A RESULT, CCD AGENDA, AS WELL AS
ITS DISCUSSIONS, BECOME JUMBLE OF SOME marginally
IMPORTANT AND MANY TOTALLY UNIMPORTANT ITEMS.

7. FRENCH MEMBERSHIP: MISTRAL MADE CLEAR THAT HE WAS
NOT ATTACKING CCD AS CONCEPT. QUITE THE CONTRARY, HE
SAID THAT GISCARD AND GOF ARE GENUINELY CONCERNED BY
PROBLEMS OF ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT. HOWEVER,
THEY HAVE CONCLUDED THAT CCD AS PRESENTLY CONSTRUCTED
IS NOT ATTRACTIVE TO FRANCE IN TERMS OF INSTITUTIONAL
ANSWER TO THESE PROBLEMS. WHEN WE ASKED WHETHER FRANCE
WOULD BE PREPARED TO SUGGEST WAYS TO IMPROVE OPERATION
OF CCD IN LIGHT OF MISTRAL'S COMMENTS IN PARAS 2 - 6
ABOVE, HE REPLIED THAT FRANCE WOULD NOT BE DEMANDEUR.
HOWEVER, FRANCE WAS QUITE PREPARED TO DISCUSS DISCREETLY
AND INFORMALLY ANY IDEAS THAT CCD CO-CHAIRMEN MIGHT
HAVE CONCERNING "CONSTRUCTIVE" (FROM THE FRENCH POINT
OF VIEW) CHANGES IN CCD, HE ADDED.

8. COMMENT: NOTWITHSTANDING VARIOUS RUMORS WE HAVE
HEARD FROM TIME TO TIME SUGGESTING THAT GISCARD MIGHT BE
PREPARED TO MODIFY THE NEGATIVE FRENCH POLICY CONCERNING
THE CCD, WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT MISTRAL'S COMMENTS
ACCURATELY REFLECT THE CURRENT STATE OF FRENCH POLICY
CONCERNING FRENCH MEMBERSHIP IN THE CCD (SEE REF D FOR
EARLIER ANALYSIS WHICH ARRIVED AT SAME CONCLUSION). IF
WE AND SOVIETS ARE PREPARED TO PAY INSTITUTIONAL AND
SUBSTANTIVE PRICES INVOLVED IN MEETING PROBLEMS CITED
BY MISTRAL, WE ARE CONFIDENT THAT FRENCH WOULD BE PRE-
PARED TO DISCUSS SUBJECT SERIOUSLY AND CONFIDENTIALLY
WITH CO-CHAIRMEN. WE DO NOT BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT

FRENCH ARE INTERESTED AT THIS TIME IN HAVING WIDE
RANGING CONSULTATIONS BILATERALLY EITHER WITH U.S. OR
WITH USSR, OR THAT THEY WOULD BE PREPARED TO TREAT
SERIOUSLY ANY PROPOSAL FROM CO-CHAIRMEN THAT DID NOT
INCLUDE CONCRETE PROPOSALS FOR REFORMING CCD.
GAMMON

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLICIES, DISARMAMENT, MEMBERSHIP, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, ARMS CONTROL MEETINGS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 29 JAN 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: ShawDG
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976PARIS02898
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760034-0623
From: PARIS
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t1976019/aaaaahoh.tel
Line Count: 228
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION ACDA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 76 STATE 20924
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: ShawDG
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 31 MAR 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <31 MAR 2004 by KelleyW0>; APPROVED <28 JUL 2004 by ShawDG>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: FRENCH POLICY ON CCD
TAGS: PFOR, PARM, FR, CCD
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006